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I have tried in the specimens below and in transcribing the vernacular words used in the text of the book to follow the same orthography as the *Linguistic Survey*, with modifications as noted above. When no long or short sign is printed above a vowel, it is pronounced as an ordinary short vowel, not clipped. As a rough guide to pronunciation :—

Pronounce short a as the final a in America
" long a as in fast
" short e as in when
" long e as the ea in great
" short i as in bit
" long i as ee in meet
" short o as the first o in bottom
" long o as in pope
" short u as in put
" long u as the oo in foot
" ai as the English affirmative ay
" au as the ow in cow

When a small a is printed above the line between two consonants, it is generally little more than a pause between syllables, the check already mentioned; when it is so printed at the end of a word, it represents the short a sound without which, for example, it is almost impossible to pronounce a final consonantal y.

Cerebral t, d and r are printed with a dot below them, and nasal n with a long sign above it. The following points observed at pp. 4-5 of Volume I of Mr. C. G. Chenevix Trench's *Grammar of Gondi* apply to the Hill Maria dialect of Gondi also :—

(a) 'The -r is frequently rolled in Gondi as in English, and even before a consonant. . . . To avoid the appearance of affectation, single -r is written in the latter contingency. Thus, . . . though the -r in Dôrtônâ, = I am tired, first person singular perfect tense of Dôrrânâ, = to be tired, is strongly rolled, it is written single. This tripping -r is characteristic of the language.'

(b) In all southern dialects of Gondi there is a tendency to cerebralize all -r's, i.e. to pronounce r as ṛ. (The Hill Maria goes further, and gutturalises ṛ to *ghaṛa*.)

(c) 'Similarly, in the oblique cases of nouns, d and ḍ are often interchanged and t and ṭ sometimes.'

(d) 'It is often impossible to say whether a vowel should be marked long or short.'

(e) It is doubtful whether initial o or e exist in the language. 'There is always a faint w sound before the o, and generally a half-uttered y precedes the e. Thus the Gond betrays his affinity to the Madrasi butler who pronounces "eight" "Yeight."'

(f) 'A similar "Madrasi" tendency is the addition of û to final t, ṭ, d, ḍ and l. Âdû is often heard for âd, ôlû for ôl, âmmâtû for âmmât, tâkâlû for tâkâl, the third person neuter singular of the future of tâkânâ, to walk.' Compare Hill Maria *maṛsu* for Gondi mâṛs, = axe, himatu for himat as second person plural of the imperative of *hiṛânâ*, to go, in my specimens

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Appendix VII

Glossary of Vernacular Terms

[Abbreviations: BHM. = Bison-horn Maria dialect; Chh. = Chhattisgarhi Hindi; G. = Gondi; H. = Hindi; Ha. = Halbi; HM. = Hill Maria dialect; U. = Urdu.]

Aghā (HM.) Husband's living and sleeping room.

ājkī (HM., BHM.) A hole in the floor, used as a mortar in which grain is pounded with a wooden husker or pestle.

ākōmkmā (HM., BHM.) See p. 199. A man may marry only from an *akomaxa* clan. In this work I have sometimes translated it as 'wife-clan', though, when a woman speaks of her *akomaxa* relatives, the right term would be 'husband-clan'; sometimes I have used of such relatives the term 'affines', using 'kindred' for relatives of *dadabhai* or brother class, union with a girl of which is considered incest.

algi (HM.) Veranda.

alpanji (HM.) A sleeping-platform.

angithi (HM.) Women's kitchen and sleeping room.

ārā (HM.) A bull-roarer.

Bānḍā (Ha.) A knife or bill, shaped like a dab.

bāṛī (G.) A garden enclosure, generally behind the dwelling called *lōn-mulung* or 'house-enclosure' by the BHM.

barnā (Chh.) Bride-price. The BHM. use this borrowed term, or else the Hindi word *karcha*, meaning expenses.

begār (H., Ha., U.) Forced labour; the corvée.

Bhaṛī Pen (G.) The 'Great' or Supreme God; originally, for the Gond of British India, the clan-god kept at the *pen-kara* or Holy Circle, as distinct from the *chuddur penk* (small gods) kept in the house of the head of each family.

bhūm (Sanskrit and G.) Earth or land; the earth-god.

bhūm-gaita, or bhūmiā Among HM. generally an alternative designation of the *kaiyap-gaita* or religious headman, but in a few HM. villages he is a separate functionary whose function is to lead the elders in deputation to the clan-god at the chief village of the clan. Among BHM., an alternative designation of the *pernā*, or religious headman of the village.

bhūm-jāgā (BHM.) The sacred plot of land set apart in the field of the *pernā* or religious headman for certain religious ceremonies generally at the *pandum* festivals.

bhūtha (Ha.) Supplies requisitioned by State officials from cultivators. An old Sanskrit term for the twentieth part of the harvest, traditionally reserved for the pay of officers of the king.

bīāṛ (Chh.) The puddling of rice-fields with a flat log drawn by oxen, to thin the young rice plants.

birjō-dōl (BHM.) The large double-membrane drum used by Bison-horn dancers.

bohorkal (Ha.) A disease-riddance ceremony.

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Chalki (Ha.) An assistant of the *pargana* headman, generally hereditary.

chipti (Ha.) A lidded box, made of leaves on a framework of cane.

chuddur penk (G.) The 'small gods' or penates of the Gonds of some districts of the Central Provinces.

Dādibhāi (HM., BHM., G.) The term used for 'brother-clans'; see '*ahomama*' above.

Dahi (Ha.) A form of cultivation in which boughs and brushwood are brought from the forests and burnt on old fallow fields so that the ashes may serve as fertilizers. HM. and BHM. call it *parka*.

ḍeḍā'lnō (HM.) A leaf shield worn on the shoulders as a protection against rain.

Deo (H.) A god.

Deo-kot (Ha.) The sacred grove of a clan-god.

dhūmā (Ha.) The ghost of a dead man; used by Halbi-speaking BhM. as equivalent of BHM. and HM. term *kandl*.

dippā (HM.) Flat forest lands, patches of which are used in rotation for growing crops in the ashes of the felled and burned forest growth. The BHM. term is *erkā*, and the Ha. term *markām*.

ḍōḍī (HM.) A field-house.

dolā-lon (HM.) A menstruation hut.

Dor-bhūm 'Lowlands'; HM. use this name for the country of BHM. and Murias, and BHM. for that of the 'Doria' tribe of South Bastar and the Godavari valley. The Doria derives his appellation from the Telugu *dora*, meaning 'lord'.

dōdi (Ha.) A small earthen pot.

Erkā (BHM.) See *dippa*.

Gaitā (HM., Muria.) A headman.

Gāon (H.) A village.

garh (H.) A fort, or a feudal division of country.

gattā (HM.) A dish-shaped brass gong.

ghāṭ (H.) A mountain pass; used in Anglo-Indian speech of a chain of mountains such as the Eastern Ghats.

ghāṭō (HM., BHM.) A thick porridge of rice or other grain, called in H. *bhāt*.

gerlā (HM., BHM.) A bridge pier consisting of a cylindrical bamboo basket filled with boulders.

gotal (HM., Muria.) A communal village dormitory, used mainly by bachelors, but at times by all the males of the village, and used also almost as a men's club.

gotrā (H., Ha.) A sub-division of a Hindu caste. It is used by Halbi speakers for the Maria clan.

gudapal (HM., BHM., G.) Literally, 'tribe-milk', the term applied to the marriage of cross-cousins, and to the cross-cousins themselves. A in one generation marries B, the sister of C. The son of C regards the daughter of A and B as his *gudapal*, and is entitled to demand her hand in marriage or to demand compensation if she is married to someone else. By C's son marrying A's daughter, C's clan is repaid the 'milk' debt which A's clan incurred when A took B to wife from C's clan.

gudārī (HM.) A hoe or mattock, called *hargudār* by the BHM.

guḍī (Ha.) A hedge-temple.

gunīā (Ha.) One versed in *guni*, or magic spells.

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Hilli (HM.) A menstruation room in a house.

hondi (HM., BHM.) A past participial form of the verb *hondānā*, to go, used of the Departed, or of the ghost of a dead man which is to be propitiated by appropriate ceremonies, and finally laid by the erection of a menhir. 104

hondi-gatti (BHM.) Priest of the Departed.

hondi-gatti Wooden posts erected at the grave of a dead person.

hondi-garyā 'Ghost-throne'; the small cromlech set up at the base of a *hondi-gatta* or a menhir.

handi (H., Ha.) A large earthen pot.

harā-tindānā (BHM.) 'Remains-eating'; the feast to which all friends and relatives are invited on the day after the *pandum* ceremonies which only members of the family may attend.

Jāgir (U.) A Crown grant of land or of the right of collecting land revenue, generally as a reward for service rendered or to be rendered.

jarman (Ha., HM., BHM.) 'German'; the word used for the aluminium alloy of which many bazaar ornaments, ear-picks, etc., are manufactured.

jāwā (G.) The thin grain gruel called *pej* in H., Ha. and Chh.

jīvā (G.) Personality, life, that which survives after death and is not malignant like the *hondi*.

jīyā-hitti (HM.) The heir of a dead man.

Kich-tondor (BHM.) A jews-harp. (*Kach* means 'iron'.)

kadri (BHM.) Knife (HM. *kasyeq*).

kadri-berā (BHM.) 'Knife-field'; a piece of land in the field of the religious headman (*pormā* or *kadri-gattā*) set apart for certain religious ceremonies and sacrifices. It is also known as *bhūm-jāgā*.

kadri-gattā (BHM.) An alternative name for the *pormā* or religious headman, corresponding to the HM. term *kasyeq-gattā*.

kāghai (HM.) An area set apart for *ponda* cultivation when left fallow for a term of years to allow the forest growth to recuperate. It is called *kave* by BHM.

kal-barria (BHM.) Wine-ladle.

kar'nu (HM.) A threshing-floor.

kasyeq (HM.) The knife carried in the loin-cloth in a wooden sheath.

kasyeq-gatti (HM.) The 'knife-headman' or religious headman of the HM. village, and *ex-officio* priest of the Village Mother. The word 'knife' refers to his sacrificial functions.

katti (BHM.) Clan. HM. and Gonds generally use the term *pāri*.

katul (HM., BHM.) A field-shed.

khandi (H.) A measure of capacity, containing (in Bastar) 40 *pailī* or 160 *seli*. A *seli* contains rice weighing 40 *tola* or slightly more than 1 lb. The *khandi* of rice thus weighs about 164 lb.

kochi (HM.) A man's dancing-skirt.

Kōpār (HM.) The final harvest festival of the Hill Marias, in honour of the earth and the clan-god.

Koi, (plural Koior) (G.) Name used generally by all speakers of Gondi dialects of Hindus. Marias apply it generally to strangers.

Koi-gotal (HM.) The strangers' rest-house, set apart in HM. villages for lodging State officials and other strangers who are not Koitor.

kosri (Ha.) The grain *kutki* (*Panicum miliaceum*).

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kastkāl (HM.) The menhirs set up by the roadside to the Departed.
kupā-kalk (BHM.) The knot into which a man ties his crown-tuft of hair.
kurmā-lon (HM.) A menstruation hut.
kutki (H.) The grain *Panicum miliaceum* called **kokelā** by Marias and Gonds, and *kosra* in Halbi.
kutmām (BHM.) Phratry or group of clans, also called *tārv*.
Lamanā'i (G.) A youth serving his future father-in-law for his daughter's hand when he cannot afford the usual bride-price.
lāndā (Ha., BHM.) An intoxicating gruel, made from rice and *Eleusine coracana*.
leski (HM.) A medium, employed as assistant by **waddai** or clan-priest.
lingam (H.) A phallus.
lon (HM., BHM.) House; the northern Gonds say **ron**.
lonā (HM.) The inner room of the house, used for the cult of the Departed and as a store-room.
lotā (H.) A small brass pot.

Machān (H.) An elevated platform, set up in trees for shooting at big game, or in fields for watching crops.
mahuā (H.) The tree *Bassia latifolia*. Its flowers are distilled to produce the chief intoxicating spirit of Central India.
mājhi (Ha.) Headman.
mandā (Ha.) Granary.
mandiā (HM., BHM.) The grain *Eleusine coracana*.
mantram (H.) A spell or religious formula.
māqqawidang (HM.) Small brass wire rings worn in the helix of the ear.
māqsi (HM.) An axe, called *marai* by BHM.
marhān (Ha.) See *dippa*.
marmi (HM.) Marriage, by the normal ceremony.
masni (Ha.) A grass sleeping-mat.
melo (BHM.) Taboo; the HM. term is *polo*.
Metābhūm (G.) Highlands (*matā* (G.) means mountain); both HM. and BHM. call their country Metabhum and themselves Meta Koitor.
modul-waddā'i (BHM.) A clan-priest.
moghi (HM.) A dancing-shield.
mudang (HM.) A garment worn by women, consisting of a square patch of cloth passed between the legs, and attached behind and in front to a cord or bamboo hooped around the waist and threaded through numerous brass rings.
mundā (Ha.) A small irrigation tank.
mungyā (BHM.) Bead-necklaces.
musal (HM.) A club-shaped wooden husker or pestle, by which grain is pounded and husked in the **dāhi** hole in the floor. BHM. call it **usphl**.
muyang (HM.) Pellet-bells.

Nār or **nāgh** (BHM., HM.) A village.
narmā-lon (BHM.) Room in which women and infants sleep.
Nāgh-Talughi or **Nār-Taluri** The Village Mother goddess of the HM.; BHM. generally use the Hinduized form Gaon Devi.

O'lāal (G.) Hearth.
o kā (Ha.) A gourd ladle.
oser (BHM.) The veranda of a house.

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Padar (Ha.) See *pāghal*. The term *Padar-ēdj* applied by BHM. to the open well-settled country of the Jagdalpur tahsil may simply mean 'village-realm'.

pāghāl or pāgh (HM.) A village site, one of the alternative sites in parishes where there is much shifting cultivation. BHM. use the Ha. *padar*, and Murias and some HM. *pāra*.

pagḥla (HM.) A gourd ladle.

pagri (H.) A turban.

paik (Ha.) Originally a soldier of the medieval feudal militia of all the states of Orissa and Chhattisgarh; used in the *lingua franca* of Bastar of police constables, etc.

panchāyat (H., Ha.) The council of village or caste elders, traditionally five (*pānch*) in number.

pandum (BHM.) A first-fruits or new-eating ceremony.

pārad (Ha.) See *wata*.

parganā (H.) A sub-division of a tahsil or zamindari, corresponding roughly to the ancient *gark*.

pāri (G.) The word used by almost all Gondi speakers for the clan; BHM., however, call it *katta*.

pāriḍg (HM.) Bride-price.

parkā (HM., BHM.) See *dahi*.

patwāri (H.) Village accountant-surveyor, employed by State to maintain village assessment records and on settlement work.

pāyā (BHM.) Parting of the hair.

pedā (BHM.) Secular headman of village, corresponding to HM. *gaita*. The term is occasionally used by HM. also.

pedāwō'ghāl (HM.) A menstruation hut or room.

pen (G.) God. As used by HM. and BHM. refers to the clan-god.

pendā (HM., BHM.) The chief form of cultivation among Marias. The method is that described for *dippa*, but *penda* lands are always steep hill-slopes, and generally have far longer fallow periods than *dippa* lands.

pendul (BHM.) Regular marriage.

pen-gidwā (G.) The clan-priest of the Gonds of the Nagpur and adjacent Central Provinces districts, who is the custodian of the *Bhera Pen* and the *pen-kardi*, or Holy Circle.

pen-riwar (HM.) The clan-god's shrine or hedge-temple, generally called *dongudi* (Ha.) by BHM.

pen-waddāl (HM.) The priest-medium of the clan-god.

permā (BHM.) The religious headman of the village. See also *bhum-gaita* and *kadri-gaita*.

pharsi (Ha.) A kind of axe.

pirā-mānshā (HM.) A disease-riddance ceremony, called *bahordel* in Ha., and *rog-barrid* by BHM.

pole (HM.) Taboo.

pōrsheng (HM.) Rings or pings worn in the lobe of the ear.

pūjāri (H.) One who performs the *pūjā* or worship of gods.

pūpal (G.) The pulse *urad* (*Phaseolus radiatus*).

Rau (Ha., BHM.) Demons, chiefly of mountains and high places.

roking (HM.) A large leaf hat used as protection against rain.

sāja (H.) The tree *Terminalia tomentosa*, held sacred by Marias and all Gonds. (G., *mard-marrā*.)

sāl (H.) The tree *Shorea robusta*.

salphi (Ha.) The sago-palm (*Caryota urens*) called *gargā marrā* by Marias.

sāri-bori (Ha.) Village subscriptions of labour, supplies or money for communal or State objects; a corruption of an Arabic technical term.

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siārī (Ha.) The elephant creeper, *Bauhinia vahlii*, much used for making cord.

sūṛā (HM.) Iron hoops worn by women around their necks.

Tāghāli (HM.) A raincoat made of strips of retted bark of the tree *Kydia calycina*, sometimes used also as a dancing-skirt for men.

tahsīl (U.) A large sub-division of a district or State, administered by a *tahsildar*.

tallāgullā (BHM.) The plumed bison-horn dancing head-dress of men.

talq-dā'īnā (HM.) Literally, 'going to ask'; used of the formal visit of a youth's parents to a girl's parents to ask for the girl's hand for their son. The BHM. call this *tālpānā*, or 'asking'.

talutār (BHM.) A patterned brass snood, worn over women's hair.

tārr (BHM.) = *kutmām*, a phratry or group of clans.

thekadār (H.) One who holds a village on *thekā* or lease from the State or a zamindār.

til (H.) The oil-seed *Sesamum indicum*.

tirdudī (BHM.) Woman's bamboo dancing staff, adorned with iron pellet-bells.

tiyā (BHM.) Iron neck ring.

tokānā (BHM.) Used of consulting the earth-god as to what sacrifice he demands by placing wet rice on the ground before a cock and reciting names of possible victims till the cock pecks up the rice; the god is held to want the victim last-mentioned.

tōpī (H.) A hat; used by HM. of their dancing head-dress.

tōqā (HM.) Tail; used of the end of the loin-cloth left to hang over the right buttock.

torī (Ha.) The Muria hunting-horn.

tum (HM.) A form of grass fencing.

turam (HM.) A kettle-drum.

Uddam-garya (HM.) The religious headman's seat of honour.

urad (H.) See *pupal*.

uras-kal (BHM.) = HM. *kolohal*, q.v. (from *urasnā*, to bury, and *kal*, a stone).

uspāl (BHM.) See *musal*.

utārī (BHM.) A brass fillet worn over women's hair.

Wetā (BHM.) A ceremonial hunt, or *pārad* (Ha.); the most important is the *wijja-wetā*, or 'seed-hunt', preceding the sowing of the new harvest.

wijja (G.) Seed; the Hindi *bīj*.

wijja-dodi (HM.) A long-granary.

wijj-erhu (BHM.) 'Seed-*mahua*'; an alternative name for the *bhum-jaga* or *kadri-bera* plot in the *perma's* field set apart for religious ceremonies, which has generally on it a sacred *mahua* tree.

wijja-lon (BHM.) Room in dwelling-house used as granary and for cult of the Departed.

wittō (BHM.) A fringe of hair, left along the forehead.

zamindari (U.) The estate of a zamindar, who in Bastar (as in the Central Provinces generally) is a subordinate chief, a survival of the medieval feudal chiefs subordinate to the Maharaja, holding a large estate on payment of tribute to the Maharaja or the Government, as the case may be.

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CLASSIFIED GLOSSARY

Words without reference are Gondi, words in brackets, without reference, are Halbi.
G = Gondi, GN = Gondi of Narayanpur, GK = Gondi of Kondagaon, Ha = Halbi, H = Hindi, SKT = Sanskrit.

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In order to make the book as easy as possible for the general reader, I have omitted in the text the majority of Gondi or Halbi-Chhattisgarhi words. But since many of these are interesting in themselves and necessary to complete our picture of the Muria, I have added a number of them here, classified according to subject. Words explained in the text are not usually included. It must be remembered that these are words used by the Muria, whose Halbi is uncertain and whose Gondi is often corrupt and takes different forms from place to place.

ADMINISTRATIVE

athpahariya (Ha) — The village drudge, who is on duty for 'all eight watches', often a Rawat or Kopa cowherd, from whose hands all visitors can take water.

chāliki (H) — Manjhi's assistant. Also called **Garhi** (GN), **Chalau** (H), and sometimes **Jhoria** in the north.

dorbhum — (H. **khālpati**). The Lowlands.

garh (H) — An ancient feudal division.

hāt, atum — A bazaar.

kāndki (H) — Mukkadam's assistant.

khām, khalsa (H) — Villages under the direct control of the State, paying their revenue direct and not through an intermediary.

kosur, paik (Ha) — Words used for outsiders and strangers. **Paik** is most commonly applied to chaprasis and constables. **Paik**, originally 'foot soldier' in Hindi, from *pair*, a foot. Cf. *paijama* in Persian = leg-clothes.

kotwār (H) — The village watchman, often—but not always—a Ganda or Mahara.

mānjhi (H) — A pargana chieftain. A pure Hindi word meaning 'skipper of a ship'.

metabhum — The Hill country, especially the Abujhmar Hills, also called **mār, māri,** and **patār. Mār** is a word of wide distribution and is almost certainly identical with Oriya **māl. Mār** and its variants in Gondi means 'tree' and thus, as applied to a countryside probably means 'wooded uplands'. 'Uplands' is a relative term and in Orissa the word **māl** applies to areas, inhabited by aboriginals, which are forested but not always very high. Of course the fertile plains are rarely in possession of aboriginals (A.N.M.).

mukaddam (H) — A village headman. Also called **thākur** and **mokor** (GN).

nār (G), **gaon** (H) — A village.

pādarāj — Land without forest; used by the northern Muria for the flat rice-lands of Jagdalpur Tahsil.

panchāyat (H) — A judicial committee normally of five persons. Also called **bhumkāl udna** (GN).

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pār, paghai	A word (H. **birān**) meaning an empty or deserted village site.
pāra (H)	A hamlet or group of houses forming part of a village. Another word commonly used is **tola**. Both words are widely distributed in India.
pargana (H)	The sub-division of a tahsil.
tāhsil (H)	An administrative sub-division of the State, in charge of a **tahsildar**.
thekadāri (H)	A village farmed out to a landlord who is generally in Bastar called a **thekadar**, but is known elsewhere in the Central Provinces as **malguzar** or **mokasa**.
yer gāttum	A bathing place.
zamindāri (H)	An hereditary estate held on privileged tenure by local chiefs.

Articles of Daily Life and Use

dera	A spinning-wheel or **takli** (H) used for making cord from hemp.
dholangi	A bamboo bin for storing grain.
heti, yet	The winnowing-fan, **supa** (H).
hirkānj, irkās (GN)	The **aikka** cords depending from a carrying-pole, and in which the load is tied.
hoydel	Cooking-hearth of earth. When made of stones, **daying**.
hukur	Spoon.
kuri, kuring	Leaf-plate or **patri**, made of **aking** leaves.
hurul	Leaf-cup for drinking **jāwa**. An ordinary leaf-cup is **dopa**, or **doni** in Halbi.
katul	The country-cot, or **katiya**, now fairly common among Muria, but never used in the ghotul.
kāwar, bāyinga (GN)	A pole used for carrying loads.
malla, arka	The words most often used in Gondi for a pot. **Kila** or **gor** is a very large earthen pot, and **yer gāgir** is often used for a water-pot. Small pots are **kopa, kondel, toksi**.
mora, jol (GN)	A shield of leaves inserted into a bamboo framework, used as a protection against rain.
orka, bokka (GN)	A gourd ladle, also called **buriya**. A brass variety made by the Ghasia by the *cire-perdue* process is now often used for serving liquor.
rek, kālo	The leaf-hat used during the rains.
tepāri	A rectangular lidded basket, also called **pera**. The Muria use a number of different baskets, including the common **jhāpi** which they call by its Hindi name; the **warria**, a square open basket also known as **takra, buti** or **gappa**, and the small leaf-basket called **hipti** or **hipota** (GN).
usmāl, uspāl	Rice-husker, the **musal** (H).

Articles of Iron

bāndal kaser or **bānda**	A knife.

CLASSIFIED GLOSSARY

godel	The ordinary serviceable axe. Also **marask** (GN) or **tayinga** (tangiya).
gorka	A spear.
hatăr, yetăr	A sickle (**hasiya**).
kach	Iron. It is generally smelted and worked into tools by the Muria Lohar.
kadra	A long-bladed knife for killing animals.
kaser	Knife, specially the sacrificial knife used in worship, whence **kaser-gaita** or Knife Priest.
kunj	The shouldered digging-stick called **pulu** in the Abujhmar and **kus** in Halbi. It is sometimes used for husking grain.
kurăr	A hoe.
majiya	A razor.
pharsa (H)	The 'battle-axe' often used in ceremonial dances.
tatti	A sort of plane, **bărsa** (HA).
yerk	A knife, for cutting grass and brushwood, with a long wooden handle, also called **harru, sura găgra**, or **bhălu găgra**, according to shape.

Astronomy

adi-bhum	Below the earth.
adurk	Hail.
bhimul-weel	Rainbow, 'the bow of Bhimul', the rain-giver.
bhum-gurjălta	Thunder (Mitchell gives **idrita**).
hand-gariyăl-lopta	Eclipse.
kukum, mirko	The stars (in Betul, **sukkum**).
lenj	The moon.
nadum-bhum	The earth.
pir	Rain. (The same word is used in Betul, but Mitchell gives **museur** as used by the Bison-horn Maria).
porad	The sun. (Trench says the Betul Gond have no word for sun.)
perro-bhum	The sky.
pus-gurum	Lightning (Mitchell gives **mirkăna**).

Cock-fighting

kăti	The knife attached to the cock's foot.
kork-wăhchăna (kurka laral)	Cock-fighting.
măhchăna kor (larăito kukra)	A fighting-cock.
nul (sut)	The thread with which the knife is tied.
thaila (Ha)	Purse to hold a set of knives.

Cultivation

asur	A wooden implement for carrying branches from the forest to the fields for **parka**. In Halbi **bharni**.
dippa	Also **erka** or **marhăn** (Ha). Level forest land burnt and cultivated in rotation.

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104 **harpunj** — Sandals of sambhar-hide worn while treading the hot fields of axe-cultivation. **Katwāk** are wooden clogs.

kara — The **kothār** or threshing-floor.

ketul — A field-hut, **lāri** (Ha).

kopir (ragra) — A soil-leveller.

kor-lāt — Also **balla** (GN) and **dhosna** (Ha). A rake used to spread the ashes evenly about a clearing or field.

koyāna (katai) — Reaping.

mariyāna (duhrayi) — The second ploughing.

mer-gutta — The winnowing-pole.

munda (Ha) — An artificial pond. In GN called **neling** and **katta**.

nangel (nāngar) — Plough.

pāhāna (khapai) — The first ploughing. This and similar Gondi words are the infinitives of verbs.

parha ursāna (ropa) — Transplanting.

parka — Also **dahi** (H). Brushwood is brought and spread over the fields, then burnt and the ashes are ploughed into the ground.

pārum (phār) — Ploughshare.

pehchna (biyāsi) — Puddling.

penda — The hillside axe-cultivation of the Marka and wilder Muria.

tondi, tond — A **mācha**-platform for watching the crops.

weda, bera (Ha) — A field.

wisāna (mindai) — Threshing.

witāna (bunai) — Sowing.

Daily Programme

104 805 **ād pāhar (adhu-pāhar)** — 'Shade time.' Late afternoon.

bāhat erta — 'It is bent.' Afternoon.

gai gohdi bera (Ha) — 'Time of the return of the cows,' or **godroki** (Ha) 'Time of tying up the cattle'.

gānda lote bera (Ha) — 'Time when the Ganda goes to his wife.'

hikāt (bhainsa and-hiyar) — Dark, 'dark as a buffalo'.

hirri pord — When green parrots fly to the fields and the women come home.

jāwa pord, pite karu pāhar (pej bera) — Time for **jāwa**, 'time when the birds are hungry'. 10 a.m.

jāwa undāna pahār — Time for drinking gruel.

kaimal huskār, gudin pahār — Time of the first sleep.

korkusāna pāhar (kukrabasi) — Cock-crow.

mulpe — Sunset.

nadum narka (manjhar rāti) — Midnight.

narki pāhar (bara bihān) — Early morning. 6 a.m.

neknitit pord, taila pord (munde bera) — 'Sun-standing' or 'head-time'. Noon.

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palvi viyinta, wiytu (raja karan bera)	Dawn: the time when Raja Karan rose and bathed.
pharphar bera	The flight of darkness.
phulsundri (Ha)	Evening when the flowers give out their fragrance.
tirtir pord	The sun rises **tir-tir** into the sky.
yer pord (panihāri bera)	Time for fetching water. 8 a.m.

Dancing Dress

chāpi, mogiya	Dancing-shield.
gathurta, karhāna	Cloth tied criss-cross over the chest.
gheri	Skirt, called **kochi** by the Hill Maria.
guba	Tuft of feathers.
irna, ghāti	Buttock-bells.
jela	Streamers attached to the cap.
kauda-hār, koya-kaudāng	Cowrie decorations.
kokti	Wooden 'horse' carried on shoulder.
lolita, puring, toka	Different parts of the 'horse'.
muyang, ghulghuli, ghungru	Small bells worn on arms or ankles.
topi (H)	Dancing-cap.

Death

bagmeri bhut (Ha)	Ghost of a man killed by a tiger.
bisrān itāna	The ceremony of touching a dead fish at the end of a funeral. In Halbi **bisram** means the bad smell of a dead fish.
burkāl pāta	Song sung when a man is killed by a tiger.
erramtogh	A wife's elder brother or younger sister's husband, who have special duties at a funeral.
hanāl, muriyalor (duma)	The dead, the departed. *Hanāl* is a past participial form of the verb **handāna**, to go; and thus 'the departed' is a literal translation (W.V.G.).
hanāl gaita	Priest of the Departed.
hanāl gariya	Pot of the Departed.
hanāl gata (khama)	Wooden memorial pillar.
hāt hamur (marni)	Funeral.
hātur dhol (marni dhol)	The drum for the dead.
jiwa (Ha)	The soul.
jiwa tatāna, yer niyāna (dasnāhan)	Ceremonies on the tenth day.
jiya bitāl	Any relative, but not a *saga*, of the deceased.
kal ursana, kamk ursana	To erect a menhir.
kutukal, ursakal	Memorial menhir, from Gondi **kal**, a stone and **ursana**, to bury.
kishiyāna (agi deto)	Cremation.
nelānj jurāl, nelānjur	Ghost of a motiari.
nirkor kotāna (tijnāhan)	Ceremonies on the third day.

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ondar muttal, surel, orohrande, churin	The ghost of a woman dying in pregnancy or child-birth.
uriya bhut, mirchuk, matiya, kunwaria duma (Ha)	Expressions to describe the ghost of a chelik.
wich	A dead man.
wich bati (marā-bhāta, dumakot)	Disposal place for the dead.

Dreams

barre māltor (baramtor)	Talking in sleep.
bhāk katār (thua)	Ceremony to prevent bad dreams. **Bhāk** means 'a promise', **katār** a 'throwing away'.
jiwa (Ha)	The 'soul' that sees the dream.
kaniskna	Dream.
urkanor	*Nocturna eneuresis.*

Economic Relationships

adiya, adi (Ha)	The practice of lending bullocks or seed in consideration of receiving half the crop in return.
bāka (Ha)	The practice of loaning bullocks for a fixed amount of grain, say six khandi a year apiece.
begār (H)	The practice of taking free, and generally forced, labour from the villagers.
bisāha (H)	A very old Sanskrit expression for the custom that reserved the twentieth part of the harvest for the Raja's officials.
biyaj (Ha)	Interest. It is noticeable that there is no Gondi word for this.
dat	The annual cash payment to a farm-hand.
jewar, kurai	Either a servant's monthly wage in kind, or the contribution of a whole village to a Lohar, Rawat, or Kotwar for his services.
kābār, kābāri	The pledging of a man's services for a period of time in consideration of an advance of grain or money. **Kābār** is work done for someone else as opposed to **pari** (G) work done for oneself. **Kābāri** probably means 'one who carries a **kāwār**-load'.
karra (udhar, karja)	A loan.
wite (bethiya)	Wages.

Ethics

arro	Taboo: used chiefly of food.
arwit-tu, pāisotu (GN)	Adultery. In Halbi **udaliya**.
bonde nohakāna, penda karsana (cherka gotna, chotli khel)	Masturbation.
dharom (Ha)	Virtue, a borrowing from Hinduism.
dong	Theft.

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eting getwal	Bestio-sexuality. There is no general word, but **getwāl** 'copulation with' is added to the name of the animal.
halwark, wititu	Elopement. **Witāna** means 'to run'.
hawakāna	Murder.
jabardasti getna (Ha)	Rape. There is no Gondi word for this.
kondār-murt (bokra-basiya)	Incest: behaviour like a bull—in Gondi, or like a goat—in Halbi.
kusk-birtur, kusk-hātur	Suicide. **Kusk** means 'of one's own accord'; **birtur** is 'hanging'; **hātur** is 'death'.
melo	Taboo: used of places, actions and relatives.
pāpu (Ha)	Sin, an idea for which there is no special Gondi word.
polo	Taboo: a general word.
tupunj getwāl	Homosexuality.

Evening in the Ghotul

dhuyinga, pogho (surti)	Tobacco.
gāra pich, tora pend	Oil-waste of *bassia latifolia* often used for massage.
gik (maani)	Mat of **marrām (botha)** grass.
hichār	Bamboo comb.
hunjna dera	Sleeping-place.
irāna	To comb the hair.
johār bhumkāl	Greeting to a company of boys.
johārni (Ha)	Act of salutation.
nohkāna	To massage.
paniya (Ha)	Wooden comb.
pitis pitis kotāna	To delouse the hair.
tarka, chāp (tāti)	Bamboo mat.
werak morhāna, kāyi morhina (GN)	To crack the fingers.

Falconry

hachār	The hawk (**chhachān**).
hachār-murka (chhachān-dhuti)	The basket for the hawk's food.
hachār payāna tola	A goat-skin glove to protect the hand from scratches.
paula, pawela	The elaborate wooden peg attached to the bird's cords to prevent them tangling.
uting parhāna	The bunch of palm leaves with which the boys drive the birds.

Festivals

bāsi punnang (bāsi tihār)	The 'stale' day after a festival marked by various observances. *Bāsi* is food left over from a meal and served up again.
jatra (SKT)	A festival, generally a clan-festival.
kut pehchāna, nārtāte kiyāna	Purifying the village.
marhai (H)	A commercial festival.

pandum	Festival.
penkarsana, karsār (deo khelnī)	'The games of the gods' at the clan festivals.
pohchāni, bohorāni	Ceremony for removing evil from the village.
polhāna (jogāni)	The offering of first-fruits.
punāng tindāna (nāwa khāni)	New Eating Ceremony.
singoti, sela	The fringe of ears of grain tied over doors at festivals, especially Diwali.

FIRE-MAKING

hāhak	The 'hearth' of a fire-drill.
khanda	The saw. In Hindi this word means 'sword'.
khanda-achāna	Making fire by a saw.
nogho-kodiya, ate	The 'hearth' of a saw.
nur-āchāna	Making fire by a drill.
nurkis	Fire made by a drill.
usmal	The drill.
wadur kis	Fire made in a hearth.

FOOD

alainj (chapora)	Red ants.
gāto	The ordinary **bhāt** or boiled rice.
gondka	'Crab's eyes' or **kekra ankhi**.
gorānj, gorra	**Mandia** (*eleusine coracana*).
guge (batar kira)	Edible flying ants.
hāring	The ordinary wheat-cake or chapatti.
harsum	**Sarson** oil-seed, the profitable crop *sinapis alba rape*.
hind porak (chhind kira)	Edible grubs living in the *phoenix sylvestris* palm.
jandrān	**Jondra** maize (*zea mays*).
jata	Beans (*dolichos lablab*).
jāwa	A gruel, called elsewhere **pej**, the staple food of the aboriginals of central India, made of rice or millet.
kāng, ārk	*Setaria italica*. Also called **koliya lengri**.
kohola, kosra (Ha)	These are words applied rather widely to the small millets beloved of the aboriginals. **Kosra** applies most particularly perhaps to **kutki**, *panicum miliaceum*. Other popular small grains are— **mai kohola** or **bara kosra** **turo kohola** **os kosra** **mach** or **hudala kosra** **koda** (*paspalum scrobiculatum*) **rende, hamu, gatka** or **sawa** (*panicum frumentaceum*) **ragda, dusa, kapni**, wild rice. **chikma** or **turiya kohola** (*panicum miliare*).
kore (harwa)	The pulse *glycine hispida*.
kotum kuhk	A mushroom (*kuhk* is an umbrella). The Muria distinguish several varieties, such as the **bodāng**, the **pud-kukh** which grows on an ant-hill, the

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mundur-kukh which appears at Dassera time, and the **hichra-kukh**, a small fungus generally growing on an ant-hill. 104 262

kusir — **Sāg** or curry.

māti — Roots. A great many of these are eaten; common among them are the **kāndul māti** or sweet potato, the **hind māti** or root of the *phoenix sylvestris*, the **bhurka** or **bhains deti māti.**

auka — Husked rice.

nung — Oil from the seed of *til, sesamum indicum.*

pande, panne — Frog.

pesel (mung) — The pulse *phaseolus mungo.*

pupul (urad) — The pulse *phaseolus radiatus.*

rahar (arhar) — The pulse *cajanus indicus.*

toskār māt (tikur) — The wild arrowroot, *curcuma angustifolia.*

wark — Parched rice, also **wakuhāk** (GN) and **chiura** (H), the poor man's delicacy eaten between meals.

wanji — **Dhān** or rice.

yete — Crab.

Ghotul Buildings

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bāndra — The fence round the ghotul enclosure.

dinda rāj (Ha) — 'The kingdom of the Unmarried.'

ghotul — The village dormitory.

ghotul racha (khor duār) — The dancing ground.

kirki bukān (kāna polka, bhulka) — Holes in the walls for storing tobacco and small possessions.

kodasār — The stable.

kupāhi ghotul — The outer room of the dormitory.

kutul (pirha) — A wooden pillow.

mandak — The open shed in the ghotul court.

murwis harai (mongri deri) — The central pillar of the building.

nata harai (oena deri) — The side pillars.

parmāngkor ghotul — 'The dormitory beautiful as a bison's horns.'

romi (akori) — A long bamboo with a catch on one end, used by chelik to pull down fruit and often kept in the ghotul.

sojāhi ghotul — The inner room.

walkor (akosa) — Wooden bracket for hanging drums.

wark bād (dāru mācha) — The wood stack.

Hair-dressing

bang-māhana (pāti) — Parting, either for boy or girl.

bechāng (tapra) — Boy's fringe.

julpin — The hair on either side of the parting.

kalgi khopa, kunjār — Method by which girls tie their hair in a bun.

kunjār balla — Wooden block under the hair kept in place by wooden hair pins.

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104 **kunjār koto** Wooden hair pins.
kupar (jura) Top-knot.

HONEY

poring, puk-por Honey-comb.
puk Honey.
ukhi Burning grass tied to the end of a bamboo and used to smoke out a hive.
wising or **puk-wising** Bees. In Halbi, **ondār māchhi.**

HUNTING

dohola A club arrow-head. In Halbi, **dokena.**
gunel A pellet-bow which has a **gunel-moras,** or string, a **phata,** or sling, **koda,** or wooden pegs in the sling, in which **gulla,** or small stone balls, are slung.
kārin, kār An arrow, of which the various parts are
kārin The head.
marrai The shaft.
kār-hachhar The shaft-nock.
kanāng The barb.
hulum The tang fitting head to shaft.
mal-tohk The feathers.
korpanj (onha) A trap-pit dug in a corner of a forest clearing.
lākāna, lākānj (dand-detor) The sacrifice after a successful hunt.
mitwanj, ahela A cage-trap for porcupine and hares.
mololi-wad, mololi-bāgur (lamha-jāl) A trap for hares.
nirāl-tonga A cage-trap for panthers.
pitwanj (dang-phanda) A spring-trap.
wadi (jiyād-bāgur) A trap for large animals.
wali dāyna, weta walina (GN) To go hunting. **Parad,** a Halbi word from Oriya, is used specially of the ceremonial hunt.
weel A bow, of which the various parts are
weel The stave.
hawend The string.
kitsi The horns.
wijja-weta (bij-parād) The annual ceremonial hunt before sowing.

HOUSE AND VILLAGE

atana-lon The kitchen. In Halbi, **randha-ghar.**
awār, charak (GN) The garden, or **bāri,** the precious, treasured fenced-in field near the house, which is carefully manured and where the most valued crops are sown.
bohla, bira The verandah. A very important part of the building, where visitors stay and women are segregated during their periods. Also called **bhaunti** (Ha).
bohla-hunjāna Menstruation-hut or verandah-space. Also **aska-lon, witār, kurma** (GN) and **chhua-kuriya** (Ha).
dheki lon The room where grain is husked.
hamur-lon A house in which a corpse is lying. **Marni-ghar** (Ha).

hanāl-lon The small hut for the placation or tendance of the dead found chiefly in the western areas. In Halbi, **dumaghar**.

kor-guda Hen-roost.

lon, ghar (H), kuriya (CH) A house.

lopa ahpi Inner room.

nadum ahpi Outer room. Also **parsār** (Ha).

pad-guda Pig-sty.

racha Courtyard. Also **angna** and **duār** (Ha).

sār, mandap (Ha) Covered space in front of the house, where people sit to talk and work. On the roof, which is flat, grains and tobacco are dried. Called **chhauni** and **baithak** in Chhattisgarh.

thāli-korka Cowshed. Halbi, **kotha**.

wijja-dholi Granary. Also **dhāba** (GK) and **kothi-gadiya** (Ha).

Liquor

burka (tuma) Gourd to contain the sap of the sago palm.

gāra (tora) The seed of the *bassia latifolia* tree.

gāra pich (tora pend) Oil-cakes made after the oil has been expressed from the *bassia latifolia* seed. The oily waste is used by the motiari for massaging.

gorga dārango (salpi ras or mand) The refreshing juice of the sago palm.

gorga goriya The cut peduncle of the sago palm.

gorga marra (salpi rukh) The palm *caryota urens*, Linn.

gotānj, bikor (akosa) The bamboo hook that holds the ladder in place.

hāja (thāpa or dāng) Bamboo ladder for climbing the palm.

hendur, tukil (chariya) The basket which keeps the pot in place.

hind dārango The fermented juice of the chhind palm (*phoenix sylvestris*).

hochāna (matwār holo) To be intoxicated. A drunkard is **hoche (matwār)**. Trench gives **jhakkum**, to be dead drunk.

hurām, surām A drink made by soaking mahua flowers in water.

iruh puyi, irpu pungār, irpu kuching The corolla of the tree *bassia latifolia*.

irum, iruh, irpu (H. mahua) The tree *bassia latifolia*, Roxb.

jib The inverted bamboo cone used to strain beer.

landa, barkār (GN) The highly intoxicating beer, made of **gorra, gorānj** (GN) or **mandia** (Ha) *eleusine coracana*., **nuka**, rice, **kohola** or **kosra**, *panicum miliaceum*, or other small millets.

mala, arka (tandi) Pot placed permanently in position to catch the sap of the sago palm.

māri (tāti) Matting that protects the pot from wind and the droppings of birds.

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●104 **parās, kai-buriya (orki)** A small gourd ladle kept in the pot.
siti (kari or katki) The leaf-pipe that directs the juice into the pot.

Love and Love-making

[192] The Muria are inarticulate on this subject. There seem to be few, if any, Gondi words to express emotional or abstract conceptions. They borrow from Halbi or Chhattisgarhi when they wish to do so.

bichār wātu (man, bane) Desire.
girda ātor To be in love.
girda kiyāna To make love. *Girda* means 'pleasure' or 'liking'.
jugti bikti, mohini (H) A love-charm. **Jugti** suggests an invisible being adept at playing conjuring-tricks, **yukti**, in the cause of love.
maya kiyāna To love.
maya pirit, perem (H) Love.

Marriage Ceremonies

beni pehchāna (beni guthto) Tying the plaits.
bohala, chaura Earthen platform below the booth.
dulha, dulhi (Ha) The bridegroom and bride. It is curious that there are no Gondi words for this.
ghari wersāna, chawk Pattern drawn on the **chaura** platform.
harpān pārin (samdhin bhet) Formal greeting between mothers-in-law.
kalsa (Ha) A decorated pot with a **diwa** lamp above it.
lagin, lagir The final ceremony, the essential binding part of the rite.
mānda (Ha) Marriage booth.
marmi, marming (bihao) Marriage.
neyi rehāna (tel utrāto) Anointing with oil from head to feet; making the oil come down.
neyi tarhāna (tel chaghāto) Anointing with oil from feet to head; making the oil climb up.
pargeh, pargāw (Ha) Ceremonial bringing in of the marriage party.
pārin johār (samdhi bhet) Formal greeting between fathers-in-law.
pungār mihchna The betrothal, lit. 'Plucking the Flower'. Also called **talk dāyna** or 'Going to Beg' and **pungār kurki** or 'Seeing the Flower'. In Halbi **mahala** or **sagai**.
rupiyān payāna, karch yetāna To pay or take the bride-price.
sikla karsana, tori usna (chikal mundi) Bride and groom play in the mud together.
tika (H) Ritual greeting of bride and groom by placing a mark on their foreheads.
torun (Ha) String of mango leaves tied round the booth.

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RELATIONSHIPS

akomāma — Member of a different clan with whom a marriage can be contracted.

alda-balda, adal-badal (ulat-pulat) — The custom of changing one's ghotul partner frequently.

ange-nona, ange-harandu-nāt — The relation between **dewar** and **bhauji**, a youth and his elder brother's wife.

dādābhai, tamur-dādal (bhai-band) — Those who are related in the same clan, with whom it is not possible to marry.

gudamoi, gudapāl — The cross-cousin marriage. **Guda** means 'nest', **mola** means 'price', and **pāl** means 'milk'. Thus the bride-price is kept inside the nest; the 'milk' that is given in one generation is repaid in the next.

jodidār — The tradition of ghotul fidelity.

kawāna māne, kawtik māne (hansi nāta) — The 'joking' relationship.

muriyāl nehāna — 'The elder must not touch.' The 'avoidance' relationship.

pāri, biring, birid, pār (barag-bas or gotl) — A clan-sept.

saga, samdhi-samdhin — The relationship between the parents of married persons. **Samdhi** is a contraction from Hindi **sambandhi**, connexion.

RELIGION

Adibhum (kālepur or tarpur) — The Lower World, not to be confused with Hell.

anga (pat deo) — A clan-god of special construction often employed for divination.

chutki (Ha) — To make magic by snapping the fingers.

deo (H) — A word of very wide application applied to any god or godling who interferes in human affairs.

dhur-bān (Ha) — A magic formula, a **mantra**.

doli (Ha) — A litter for carrying a god to festivals. Danteshwari Mai is usually represented in a litter.

gariya — Sacred stone.

guniā (H) — A magician with a knowledge of **guni**, magic charms. He may also be called **panjiyār**.

gutāl — A bamboo pole with peacock feathers.

gutta, khamām — Stakes to support flag-poles.

hanāl-gaita or hanagunda — Priest of the Departed.

hesa kiyāna — 'To make an egg-shell', to perform a **thua**, a ceremony which concentrates a disease or other evil into a moveable object which can then be removed from the village or house.

heth hurāna (supa dekhna) — To divine with a winnowing-fan.

hode (panganha) — A warlock, practitioner of black magic.

hode hanār (panganāhin) — A witch.

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104 **jhara phukna**	To blow away evil or danger.
jol ungāna (jhulna jhulto)	Divination by swinging.
kanyang (kaniya)	A 'Maiden' or naiad believed to inhabit woods and streams.
kapād (Ha)	A 'magic door' made to trouble an enemy.
kāri hurāna, katiya hurāna	To divine with a broom.
kaser-gaita or **māti-gaita**	The Knife Priest or Earth Priest, also called **nal-gaita, bhum-gaita** or **mātiyār**, in attendance on the Village Mother.
lāt (Ha)	A flag-pole, to which is attached the emblem of the clan or village god.
mahapurub	Probably incorrectly derived on p. 180. The word must be the same as **mahaprabhu** (SKT), which means 'Great Master' and in Orissa is widely used as a title not only of the Supreme Being but of any leading deity.
mātal	A 'Mother', generally the Village Mother.
mat hiyāna	To give medicine.
mudiyal, muittor (dokara, dokari)	These words which mean Old Man or Old Woman are usually added to the names of the clan-gods. Thus the *form* of Lingo Pen is that of an Anga, and he himself is referred to as Lingo Mudiyal or Lingo Dokara.
Nadumbhum (mānjpur)	The Middle World, or Earth.
pālo	Sacred cloth.
pāti	A forest god.
pen	A god, generally clan-god.
pen-dhurwa	A priest in special attendance on an Anga. If he is expert in magic he may be called **pen-waddai**.
pen-pujāri or **pen-gaita**	A clan-priest.
pentishta	According to Glasfurd, two posts of unequal size near the road, erected before beginning anything new and meaning 'the first, the consecration'.
pitkur (Ha)	Sacrifice of blood from one's finger to a god.
Porrobhum (uparpur)	The Upper World, not to be confused with Heaven.
rau (Ha)	A hill demon.
rawar (gudi)	A shrine. **Pen-rawar** is a shrine of a clan-god. Shrines are often furnished with **hukur**, wooden spoons, **hepur gutta**, fans of wood or feathers, **kaser**, knives, **pen-kunda**, pots for cooking sacrificial meals, **chhatar** (H), umbrellas, **sawur** (ox-tail used as fan) and **tirsul**, a trident.
siraha or **leski**	A medium capable of being inspired by a god and of thus revealing his messages to mankind.
talla melihāna (jhupna)	To shake the head in trance.
Tallur Muttal	Mother Earth.
tokāna	Divination by giving rice to chickens.

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Songs and Dances

buting-ting	A mask dance.
dāka	Dance-step.
endanna	Dance.
hatto	Riddle.
kahka	Proverb.
kolān mudiyāl, kolān guru, gāyān, jokta	Leaders of the Pus Kolang dances.
lakna	Theme of a song.
lang	Tune.
pār	Drum-rhythm.
pāta	Song.
pāta oywāl	Singers.
pito	Story.
roche	Chorus, generally a variation on the **relo** motif.

Stilt-festival

bād	Pile of old stilts placed over the stone of Bhimul.
dito	Stilts.
dito-dandi	Stilt-pole.
dito-palk	Foot-rests attached to the stilt-poles.
jabān	Wooden pegs to keep the foot-rests in place.

Synonyms

aking-making	An 'echo-word' on **aking**, leaves; meaning any kind of jungle produce.
iruh-na-yer	'Water of mahua' for liquor.
kota sāmbar	'The long-tailed one' is used for **thāli**, a cow.
morna	'A rope' is used instead of **tās**, a snake.
warreatn	'The fear' is used for **burkāl**, a tiger.

Tattooing

hale hawar (saliya dana)	Resin of *boswellia serrata* sometimes used to make the ink.
huji, uji	Needles.
jaddān perek (jāda bija)	Castor seed used to make the ink.
kājar	Black tattoo ink.
khopa (kondi or thoka)	The small pot to hold the ink.
sung neyi (tilli tel)	Oil of *sesamum indicum*, also used to make the ink.
singār kodia, anjela, dondka (H, godna)	Tattoo.

Trees, Shrubs and Creepers

sia (sulai)	*Boswellia serrata*, Roxb. The Muria use the fragrant gum-resin as an incense in sacrifice.

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amarbel (Ha) — *Cuscuta reflexa*, Roxb. In Hindi, **akāshbel**, a clinging creeper used as an emblem of close friendship.

berel (bar) — The banyan, *ficus bengalensis*, Linn.

bor-renga (bhoir) — *Zizyphus jujuba*, Lamk. The Muria use its wood for fuel and sometimes to make agricultural implements. The thorny branches are used for fencing. The fleshy drupe is eaten. Hence the riddle—'The daughter is beautiful, but the mother bites'.

chil, hikum — *Acacia concinna*.

dumel bito (polai) — *Alstonia veneriata*. The bark and roots are used to poison animals.

dundipipar — A variety of *ficus religiosa*, Linn.

garānj (karanji) — *Pongamia glabra*, Vent. Oil for lighting is expressed from the seeds; the waste is used in the ghotul for massage. The fruit is rather like a comb, whence the riddle—'A tree full of combs'.

gorga (salpi) — *Caryota urens*, Linn. For a full account, see pp. 53ff.

gunj (H) — *Abrus precatorius*, Linn. The bright red seeds are used as beads and as goldsmith's weights; crushed, they poison arrows.

harangi (sargi, sal) — *Shorea robusta*, Gaertn. The splendid **sāl**, one of the most valuable of India's timber trees, used everywhere for building, railway sleepers, tools. The Muria earn money by sawing and carting the wood. They eat the seeds and young leaves and use its resin as incense.

hindi (chhind) — The wild date-palm, *phoenix sylvestris*, Roxb. The leaves are used for mats and baskets, and for marriage-crowns. The fermented sugary sap is drunk.

iru, irpu (mahua) — *Bassia latifolia*, Roxb. See p. 33.

ita (imli) — *Tamarindus indica*, Linn. The pods are used in making condiments.

jadda (aranda) — *Ricinus communis*.

kadam, kāreka (H) — *Anthocephalus cadumba*, Miq. The fruit is eaten by human beings as well as by birds and cattle.

kaka (harra) — *Terminalia chebula*, Retz. The myrabolams are used for tanning and many Muria get work collecting and preparing them for contractors.

kaner — *Nerium odorum*, the oleander, a poisonous shrub. The seeds were used to murder an unwanted husband in southern Bastar in 1940.

karandi (mokha) — *Schrebera swiedenioides*, Roxb.

karāt (kāru) — *Sterculia urens*, Roxb. The ghost tree, so called because of its gaunt white trunk with branches leafless half the year.

kasi (khasal) — *Bridelia retusa*, Spreng.

kehla (dhāman) — *Grewia tilliaefolia*, Vahl. The tough elastic wood is used by the Muria for their carrying-poles and bows.

khairi, khair kota (Ha) — *Acacia catechu*, Willd.

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kluğeri (harsingri)	*Nyctanthes arbor-tristis*, Linn. Widely used in medicine by the aboriginals. Buffaloes like scratching themselves against the scabrous leaves. The fragrant flowers are popular with the motiari.
kohoka (bhilwan)	*Semecarpus anacardium*, L.F. The marking-nut tree. The Muria eat the seeds. For the use of the juice as a counter-irritant see Codrington.
kumur (kumi)	*Celastrus paniculata*, Willd.
kurru, kalmodia (kuriu)	*Gardenia latifolia*, Ait. A small shrub of xerophytic habit.
kursi (siuna)	*Gmelina arborea*, Linn. The fruit, a succulent ovoid drupe, is eaten by chelik and motiari.
mahka (bel)	*Aegle marmelos*, Correa. The tree is sacred to Hindus. The Muria use the fruit ceremonially as a substitute for the coconut.
mang (kahu)	*Terminalia arjuna*, Bedd.
mard (adan, saja)	*Terminalia tomentosa*, W. & A. The tree sacred to the Gond throughout central India.
marka (ām)	*Mangifera indica*, Linn. The mango.
mughori (palās or pharsa)	*Butea frondosa*, Roxb. The 'Flame of the Forest'. Rope is spun from its root fibres; plates and cups are made from the leaves; important in the lac industry.
mli (aonra)	*Phyllanthus emblica*, Linn. The handsome wax-like fruit, which is very astringent, is valued as a stomach medicine. The leaves and branches are important demon-scarers.
sanum (shisham)	*Dalbergia latifolia*, Roxb. Indian rosewood.
ondi (jāmun)	*Eugenia jambolana*, Lam. The black plum.
palur (sālrī)	*Bauhinia vahlii*, W. & A. The camel's-foot creeper. The large leaves of this gigantic creeper are used as plates and for thatching. The Muria make rope from the fibre.
phundar	*Calotropis gigantea*, R.Br. A shrub with a milky juice.
pipir, ali (pipar)	*Ficus religiosa*, Linn. The most sacred tree in India, but not specially honoured by the Muria.
reka (chār)	*Buchanania lanzan*, Spreng. The fruit, which is like a plum, is coated with sugar and sold as the chironji sweet.
rmalita (Ha)	*Cassia fistula*, Linn. A beautiful tree bearing clusters of golden flowers.
ka (behera)	*Terminalia belerica*, Roxb. The fruit is rapidly devoured by animals.
ğga (Ha)	*Tectona grandis*, Linn. The teak, the most important timber tree in India, famous in ship construction and for many other uses.
rka (milkar tendu, mendu)	*Diospyros embryopteris*, Pers. The fruit, which is rich in tannin, is eaten by monkeys.
rya (dumar)	*Ficus glomerata*, Roxb. The wild fig.
ndr (tendru, tendu)	*Diospyros melanoxylon*, Roxb. The ebony tree, important in magic. The berries are a useful food.
rmora, tengmadia (tilai)	*Wendlandia exserta*, D.C.

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vedur (bâns) The bamboo, *dendrocalamus strictus*, Ness. The young shoots are a great delicacy. The seeds are also eaten and the pith, **vedur-jiwa** or 'soul of the bamboo', is valued.

walek (semur) *Bombax malabaricum*, D.C. The cotton tree, used ceremonially by many tribes in peninsular India.

wengor (bija) *Pterocarpus marsupium*, Roxb. The Samskrit **asana** tree. Very important for timber. The red gum resin is mentioned in the Lingo legend.

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Bison Horn Maria

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109 **Bhut**	..	A ghost or evil spirit
Danyakal	..	A cromlech, a flat stone put by certain clans for the tendance of the Dead
Gaita	..	The priest and religious headman of a village.
Ghotul	..	The village dormitory of the Muria of northern Bastar
Gunia	..	A magician
Jawa	..	A gruel, called also pej, which is the staple food of the Maria
Jiwa	..	The soul
Kosra	..	A small millet, *panicum miliaceum*
Lamhada	..	A youth who serves a period of years for his wife
Landa	..	Rice-beer
Mahua	..	*Bassia latifolia*, Roxb, the corolla of which is used for making liquor
Mandia	..	A grain, *eleusine coracana*, used in the brewing of rice-beer
Manjhi	..	The petty chief or headman of a group of villages
Mirchuk	..	The ghost of a suicide, an executed murderer or a man killed by human violence
Paita	..	A girl who comes of her own accord to cohabit with a man
Panchayat	..	A court of village elders
Pandum	..	A festival, usually celebrating the gathering and first eating of a crop.
Pada	..	A village headman
Pen	..	A clan-god
Salphi	..	The Halbi word for the sago palm, *Caryota urens*, Linn.
Siraha	..	A medicine-man and diviner
Tahsil	..	A territorial division of a State or District, in charge of a Magistrate at whose headquarters post-mortems are conducted and who commits prisoners for trial at Sessions
Urankal	..	A menhir set upright for the tendance of the Dead
Waddai	..	A clan-priest and medicine-man

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of a timid and resigned outlook in place of the manly spirit of old. Finally I propose to discuss the results of the more liberal policy towards the aboriginals which H.E.H. the Nizam's Government has pursued since 1944, and to outline the principles and the first stages of the Gond Education Scheme, which is designed to help the Gonds in the struggle for existence and to restore to them self-respect and pride in their own ancient culture.

In an account of a culture as rich and complex as that of the Raj Gonds the anthropologist must needs concentrate on certain aspects, and in this book I have given first place to the Gonds' mythology and their complex ritual, sanctioned and sustained in almost every phase by mythical precedents. This part of Gond culture is rapidly disintegrating and its study, still possible in the hills of Utnur and Asifabad Taluqs, would come too late in the more open parts of the District. Problems of psychology and the more intimate matters of the individual's life, on the other hand, are only fleetingly touched upon, but I believe that changes in this sphere are not as rapid and the time left for their study is consequently far less limited.

Although this book is not a treatise on linguistics, Gondi texts of some length have found a place in many chapters. I noted them when collecting my material and as they are the first recorded specimens of the peculiar Gondi spoken in Adilabad, I do not feel justified in withholding them from the student of Indian languages. All have been checked and rechecked with several informants, but this is no guarantee of absolute accuracy, for Gonds, like the speakers of most unwritten languages, are often careless about rules of grammar and not very sensitive to slight slips in a text read out to them. The recording, moreover, is not in accordance with the exigent demands of modern phonetics, which only the trained linguist can fulfil. Consonants are used with their values in English, and vowels with their values in Italian, long and short signs being added only where confusion might otherwise arise between two words of similar sound. Diacritical signs have been used only in the consonants ṭ, ṛ and ḥ. While the dental t, rendered by the Nagri character त, is transcribed by simple t, the cerebral t rendered in Nagri by ट, is transcribed by ṭ. Similarly the soft r, र in Nagri, is transcribed r, and the hard r, ड़ in Nagri, as ṛ. The letter ḥ stands for a sound closely resembling the German ch in Bach (pronounced like the composer). This sound occurs mainly in words of Marathi origin, and in such words most Gonds not familiar with Marathi pronounce it not as sh, but h; examples are *goḥti* (word, speech) and *paḥti* (favour) pronounced in pure Marathi as *goshti* and *pashti*; but I have transcribed these and similar words as pronounced by the Gonds in the hills.

Following the spelling of the Linguistic Survey and Trench's Grammar, I have used *w* for all *v*-sounds, except in proper names occurring in the English text, and in words borrowed from Hindi in which *v* is

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more familiar. Deviating from Trench, who employs double-consonants to indicate the shortness of the preceding vowels, thus spelling *wittana* (to run) in contrast to *witana* (to sow), I have dispensed with double-consonants; in words such as *wattana* (to put) the two consonants represent different sounds. Diacritical signs are confined to the Gondi texts, and are not used when an italicized Gondi word occurs in the English text.[1]

Those familiar with Gondi will notice that the language spoken by the Raj Gonds of Adilabad differs both from the Betul Gondi of Trench's Grammar and the Gondi spoken in South Chanda outlined by the Rev. S. B. Patwardhan.[2] A distinctive feature of Adilabad Gondi is the frequent substitution of an initial *s* for the initial *h* of both the Betul and the Chanda dialects. Thus the Adilabad Gond pronounces *surana* (to see) instead of *hurana*, and 'no' is *sile* in Adilabad but *halle* in Betul. While in the nominative the Gonds of Betul usually drop the initial *n* inherent in the first and second person of the personal pronoun and say *ana* (I) and *imma* (thou) the Gonds of Adilabad use the full form *nana* (I) and *nime* (thou).

The Gondi of southern Chanda described by Patwardhan, follows in the choice of the initial *s* and *h* the Betul usage, but has often *l* where both Adilabad and Betul Gonds pronounce *r*. Thus the Chanda Gond, like the Hill Maria says *lon* (house), while the Adilabad Gond pronounces the word clearly with *r*, *ron*.

Further comparisons between the three dialects would be beyond the scope of this work, but although Betul Gondi contains a good many words not familiar to the Gonds of Adilabad and probably *vice-versa*, and the language of South Chanda is strongly influenced by Telugu, speakers of the three dialects have on the whole no great difficulty in understanding each other.

Raj Gonds of Adilabad on the other hand find it almost impossible to understand or make themselves understood to Hill Marias of Chanda but in going through the texts given in Grigson's *The Maria Gonds of Bastar* I found that with a knowledge of Adilabad Gondi it is easy to recognize many Maria words, some being identical and most very similar in both dialects. The pronunciation and intonation seem however, to be so divergent that to those familiar with the Adilabad idiom Maria is more easily understood written than spoken. Ethnologically it would be extremely important to ascertain the affinities of those words in the Bastar dialects which do not occur in the Gondi of the Central Provinces

1. The student of Dravidian languages will find an extensive selection of Gondi texts in Nagri script in the series "Hyderabad Gondi Literature," which I am editing in collaboration with Mr. S. B. Jogalekar for use in Gond schools. So far the following numbers have been published: *Hyderabad Gondi Reading Chart for Adults* 1, 2, and 3 (Hyderabad, 1943); *First Reader for Adults* containing stories and Riddles (Hyderabad 1944); *Gondi Primer* (Hyderabad 1944); *First Gondi Reader* (Hyderabad 1946); *Three Epic Poems* (Hyderabad 1946); *The Legend of the Serpa Folk* (Hyderabad 1947); *The Myth of Manko* (Hyderabad 1946).